

NATIONAL REVIEW

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PERIODICAL
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We wait, week by week, for a hint of those sacrifices that our new Pioneer warned us so eloquently, in campaign and Inaugural, we should all soon be called on to make in facing the stern challenge of our grim era. They will not be exacted, it seems, of labor, the wages of whose lower ranks are to be lifted to a new level, with the consequential general rise that a boost in the minimum inevitably brings. Nor will our older citizens be told what they are to do for their country: their beneficent country, rather, will—whether they need it or not, whether they ask or not—see that they are provided with doctors, medicines, hospitals and nursing.

No sacrificial bite will be taken from the millions of checks that flow monthly from Social Security's all-encompassing computers: the stipends will increase, and new millions will join the rolls as coverage expands and the starting age decreases. The families who from misfortune, inertia or bad judgment live in an area at present economically-depressed from technological change or faulty management will not be summoned to make the sacrifice of convincing a banker that they have a viable project, taking lower wages and profits for a while to get new enterprise going, or shifting to a more promising locale. From Washington will come funds, food, grants, friendly loans to be paid at leisure.

For our soldiers, dollars enough will be found to

keep families and cars at their side in foreign parts. Nor will the multitudinous ranks of the educationists both in and out of government need, one gathers, pull in their belts too tightly. In an initial kitty, over and above all present moneys and those to come from local or private treasuries, there will be new millions and billions (\$5.7 billion as starter) for higher teacher (and administrative) salaries, shiny new buildings, gleaming equipment, and testing programs enough to make our schools of education rejoice in a universal Te Deum.

Somehow the emerging picture does not quite jibe with Joe Alsop's campaign pitch of a lean, stripped-down, toughened athlete ready to meet and conquer on the world arena the brutal charge of the Red Antaeus.

And yet, for all appearances, there will surely be sacrifices too before it is over. The government that is to dispense so generously, producing nothing of itself, can give with its one hand only what it takes with the other: less, indeed, for there is a charge for the transfer. If these citizens are to receive the billions in security, medical care, grants and school furniture, then those citizens will have to pay for it, by one mode or another: by, that is, an increase in taxes, an inflation of the dollar, or both. Curiously enough, it will in many cases be the same citizens who receive and who pay: the same older folk who, getting their checks for medical care, find the value of their savings, of their social security for that matter, more than equally decreased by inflation; the teachers, whose pay raise cannot keep pace with the drop in the buying power of their pensions and insurance.

Nor will the sacrifice be measurable in fiscal terms only, for by so much as our day-by-day affairs are further absorbed into the tentacles of Leviathan, by that much has the range of our free choice been narrowed.

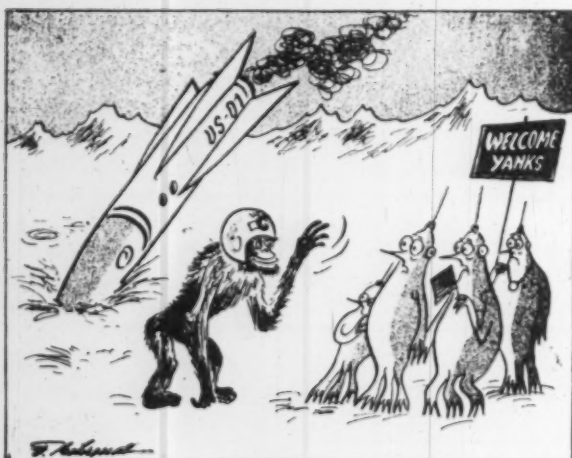
The WEEK

● At the UN, the cadre waited until Adlai was more than half way through his speech before they rioted. *Very* disciplined!

● President Kennedy has appointed a twenty-one-man Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, whose membership is divided evenly between representatives of the public, management, and unionized labor. It is interesting that unionized labor, representing only 21% of the total working force and 7% of the population, has 33% of the voting power in a committee that will make recommendations affecting the entire community. The committee is ordered to seek ways to advance "free and responsible" collective bargaining, industrial peace, rising standards of living and increasing productivity; and it will study automation and foreign competition. If this new presidium is to be taken seriously, we are swinging back along the

old NRA road toward a corporative state. If it is not to be taken seriously—the more likely bet—it's just one more tree in the already impenetrable bureaucratic forest.

● In the face of the appointments of Softs on Peiping to high office in the new Administration, a majority of the members of both houses of Congress have reaffirmed their opposition to the seating of Red China in the United Nations or U.S. recognition of the Peiping regime. This statement, circulated by the Committee of One Million, was signed by 55 senators and 285 representatives (almost evenly divided between 165 Democrats and 174 Republicans) and by a majority of both the Senate and the House Foreign Relations Committees. They also opposed "any other steps which would build the power and prestige of the Chinese Communist regime to the detriment of our friends and allies in Asia and of our national security."



Behrendt, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, Amsterdam

"Well, what do you know? So that's what an American looks like!"

● A majority of the delegates to the 1960 Republican National Convention now favor Richard Nixon as the 1964 Presidential candidate, according to a poll of the 1,331 delegates just taken by the *Indianapolis News*. The breakdown: Nixon, 56% of the delegate votes; Goldwater, 28%; Rockefeller, 11%; others, 5%. The most spectacular gain was Senator Goldwater's, who had only 30 pledged votes at the convention last summer, but now gets 218. Many who voted for Nixon specified Goldwater as his running mate.

● New plaque on Spanish-American War monument in Havana: "To the victims of the *Maine* who were sacrificed by imperialist voracity in its effort to seize the island of Cuba, Feb. 15, 1898." Remember the *Maine*?

● Two weeks ago the National Mediation Board ordered the members of the Flight Engineers Union and the Air Line Pilots Association at United Air Lines to vote for one of these as sole bargaining agent. As planes have grown bigger and cockpit jobs fewer, the flight engineers have

waxed anxious about losing jobs to the more powerful and numerous union of the pilots. So, last week, in a wild-cat strike, the flight engineers at TWA, Pan American, Eastern, American, National and Western Air Lines refused to fly. The airlines reported on February 21 that the travel plans of 125,000 passengers had been disrupted; 81,000 airline employees laid off; and the airline industry shorn of \$5 million per day in revenues. All this, for the needs or whims of a few hundred flight engineers. Not long ago New York City itself and several major railroads were hamstrung by the demands of six hundred tugboat crew members. In both cases small groups of men sought by collusive action to administer the price of their services. How does one distinguish between the collusion of unions and the collusion of electrical manufacturers? Perhaps Secretary of Labor Goldberg will explain why collusion to maintain selling prices of electrical equipment is illegal, while collusions to maintain selling prices of labor is legal. Could it be that electrons don't vote—yet?

● A couple of weeks ago in Darlington, South Carolina, a Negro held up the local bank, scooped \$3,000 into a paper bag, and was making his getaway, gun still drawn. When a cop caught up with him, and knocked the gun out of his hand, the robber protested indignantly: "You're interfering with my civil rights!" Presumably the case will be defended by the ACLU.

● The Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO is casting an attentive eye on the many state, county and municipal elections which will take place this year. Municipal campaigns will be waged in 700 cities of 10,000 or more population in 45 states; and county elections, in Illinois, Texas, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. COPE Director James L. McDevitt views these as prime opportunities for practicing labor's "political education" program. To get things started, he is out after a \$1.00 contribution, voluntary of course, from every union member.

● The Venus-bound Sputnik seems to speak Russian only. At any rate, no Western scientist has reported getting any direct word from it. Or has it been taken over by freedom-loving space pirates, on behalf of the Committee for the Liberation of Mars and Mercury?

East River Victory

We won, the headlines told us next morning, a smashing victory over the Soviet Union. On the bloody arena of the UN chamber, boldly led by our battle-scarred field commander, we (who is this "we"? *we* sometimes wonder) joined a 9-0 Security Council majority for a resolution on the Congo sponsored by the United Arab Republic, Ceylon and Liberia. Has none of our headlined commenta-

tors learned at least the minimum about Communism that would have shown him the significance of the fact that the Soviet delegate abstained? Earlier in the same session Zorin had casually enough cast Moscow's 90th and 91st vetoes of Security Council motions. If the final resolution had been even a modest defeat for Soviet policy, he would not have hesitated three seconds to cast the 92nd.

Russia is not well placed, either geographically or politically, to intervene directly in the Congo. That is why its primary operation is being carried out indirectly, by manipulation of such neutralists as the UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Morocco and Indonesia. Its own open moves comprise a campaign of psychological terror, through which it bends the UN machinery, and the Western powers, to its purposes.

Moscow's current objectives are to smash the Tshombe regime in Katanga, sterilize the Mobutu army, and drive out all West Europeans who resist Moscow's perspective. The victorious 9-0 resolution is perfectly adapted to serve these ends. The United States has given its name and honor to a document that records with "deep regret" the death of Lumumba, but not of the thousands of Lumumba's victims; that initiates an "impartial investigation" of the death of "Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues," but not of any of those whom Mr. L. and his colleagues killed, mutilated, raped and devoured; that demands "immediate withdrawal and evacuation" of all Belgians, by name, but not Moscow's myriad agents; that urges and empowers "the use of force" by the UN (in a direct violation of the UN's own Charter, which prohibits intervention into the domestic affairs of a member state) for "the halting of all military operations," etc.—that is, for disarming Tshombe and crippling Mobutu. The resolution nowhere even recognizes the legitimacy of the Kasavubu-Ileo regime whose representative sits as accredited delegate in the UN Assembly.

Meanwhile, naturally, the nations of the Casablanca bloc, backed and guided by Moscow, give open recognition and aid to the anti-Western Stanleyville regime.

If the resolution is carried out effectively—as fortunately it probably won't be—we shall indeed have to repeat with the wise commander: a few more such victories and we shall surely lose the war.

Polishing the Apple

President Kennedy, in his message to Congress on the nation's educational needs, enunciates two goals: "a new standard of excellence in education" and "the availability of such excellence to all who are willing and able to pursue it." Taking notice that the states are hard up, but ignoring the reason why, he declared that the federal government is the only agency opulent enough to underwrite said excellence and said availability.

Therefore, the federal government should provide funds to 1) raise teachers' pay; 2) build classrooms; 3) build residences for students and faculty; 4) build laboratories

PEOPLE: "Open season" on Connally Reservation signaled by Justice **William O. Douglas'** pamphlet, "The Rule of Law in World Affairs," which the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Fund for the Republic) is circulating widely. . . . Now that House Committee on Un-American Activities has been continued for another two years, Reps. **James Roosevelt** (D., Calif.) and **William Fitts Ryan** (D., N. Y.) sparking campaign to cut back its appropriations. (Sample Rooseveltian rhetoric: "Virtually every cent [spent by HUAC in last two years] injured our citizens and weakened our democratic institutions.") . . . Enlisted in "it-is-in-avoidable-we-recognize-Red-China" ranks, former **Fidel** apologist **Jack Paar**. . . . Appeasers taken off base by firm statement by **Howard C. Green**, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, that Canada will not support Communist China for admission to UN.

Washington tidbits, negative division: Appointment of **Frank W. McCullough** as chairman of vital National Labor Relations Board. McCullough, one of ADA founders, presently chairman of ADA executive committee. . . . Also, appointment of labor-supported Sen. **Pat McNamara** (D., Mich.) as head of new Senate Select Committee on Problems of Aging; naming of James Roosevelt as chairman Labor subcommittee studying minimum wage bill. . . . Labor Secretary **Goldberg** reported convinced there will be no major strike in auto industry this summer because a) industry already hard hit, b) both management and labor fear it might lead to government arbitration.

Britain's energetic health minister **Enoch Powell** successful in pushing through legislation to raise individual contributions to socialized medicine. . . . Philosopher **Bertrand Russell**, before taking part in three hour sitdown for peace in London last week took pragmatic step and had padding sewn into his trousers. Complained bitterly after show that police were too well behaved to make good headlines. . . . Big fight in French Communist Party between Moscow-oriented **Maurice Thorez**, who is following new Soviet anti-de Gaulle line, and **Servin** and **Casanova**, leaders of faction which favored a pro-de Gaulle vote in the January referendum.

Sen. **Kenneth Keating** (R., N. Y.) calling for **Richard Taber**, co-founder of Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which Senate Internal Security Subcommittee investigation has revealed to be a Castro-financed front, to return to this country and testify before Subcommittee.

The French press raises the question: If **Adolf Eichmann** is condemned to death, how will the sentence be carried out since Israel has no capital punishment?

and libraries; 5) provide scholarships for needy and talented students; 6) reimburse colleges for the cost of tuition not covered by the payments of scholarship students; and 7)—omitted from the explicit mention in the message—pay the ever-expanding horde of bureaucrats who would take out the pork from this juicy barrel. The program would cost \$666 million in fiscal 1962, \$766 million in 1963, \$866 million in 1964 (and \$X billion in 1970).

The money for this excellence and availability will not come from the states or from the people who live in the states, because, as argued in the premise, they have no money. That's why the federal government must, in these parlous times, shoulder the load. And where is the federal government going to get all that money? Next message, please.

Push Button Riots

February 13: death of Patrice Lumumba announced.

February 14: mobs sack the Belgian Embassy in Belgrade, stone the Belgian Embassy in Warsaw, march on the Belgian Embassy in Moscow, demonstrate before Belgian embassies and consulates and U.S. official buildings, in London, Rome, Paris, Washington, New Delhi, Khartoum, Johannesburg, Colombo, Dublin, Casablanca, Melbourne.

February 15: Belgian Embassy in Warsaw invaded and four diplomats injured. In Cairo, student mobs set fire to the Belgian Embassy, stone the U.S. and British embassies and attack the UN office. In Accra, 3,000 Guinean demonstrators riot outside UN headquarters. Dutch police break up an assault by Communist students. Paris police force, which has a no-nonsense attitude toward mobs, arrests 106 would-be troublemakers. Nigerian students demonstrating before the Belgian consulate in Chicago forced by police to disperse. In Washington police arrest Negro demonstrators—many of them foreign students—throwing eggs at the Belgian Embassy and in New York a Negro mob erupts fighting and snarling in the galleries of the United Nations.

All this within 48 hours of the word of Lumumba's demise.

What was it about Lumumba to evoke this world-wide frenzy? Was he the stuff from which heroes are fashioned? Hardly. He was a thief, a thug, a political adventurer—and a failure at all his trades. By stirring anti-white passions in the Congo, he helped set in motion forces which were first to destroy his country and then to turn on their maker. Yet in the rest of the world, mobs took to the streets: not for love of Lumumba, about whom most of the rioters knew nothing, or sorrow at his death, but because the order had gone out.

In every major city of the world, the capital of the Congo excepted, the Communist-led riot squads moved into the streets and universities, whipping up emotions, passing out placards and clubs, manipulating and guiding the mobs. And telling them just what targets to

• At Home •

Washington

Precautions are being taken by House and Senate security officials to prevent a repetition of the shocking Communist-plotted riots which erupted in the galleries of the UN Security Council. They have been warned that the UN outbreak was not an isolated incident but part of an over-all strategy for the United States and the world, and that Congress is the next target. A detailed blueprint for riot and bloodshed in Western capitals was prepared some months ago at the "new" Comintern's operational headquarters, No. 3 Vokelova Street in Prague.

The disorders—all in the name of "African freedom"—are part of a "peaceful coexistence" strategy worked out by Comrade Nikita Khrushchev and the Chinese Communists at the recent Red Summit in Moscow, a meeting attended by representatives of 81 Communist parties. It was decided there that every peaceful demonstration must be turned into a battle with the police. Oddly enough, the cat was let out of the bag by Bertrand Russell, leader of a mass sit-down before the British Ministry of Defense in London, who complained bitterly that the police had not roughed him up. No "mass public opinion" can be created, Lord Russell said, unless "we arouse in the authorities rather more vigorous action"—a polite way of asking for swinging truncheons.

In this country, the Communist Party has dusted off its old plan for a "Black Republic" south of the Mason-Dixon line. It has begun to distribute this document among the more extreme Negro nationalists in Harlem. The CPUSA has also mobilized its sleeper apparatus in various Negro organizations. Members of this apparatus are now calling for an end of peaceful demonstrations, sit-ins, etc., in favor of police-baiting, chain-swinging, and knife-play where possible. Responsible Negro leaders have so far resisted this organized pressure, but control may be taken out of their hands.

Release by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the long-suppressed testimony of former Ambassador William D. Pawley is having widening repercussions. Mr. Pawley testified at an executive session of the subcommittee last September concerning the pernicious influences in the State Department which had led to Fidel Castro's victory in Cuba, comparing the Latin American section to the Far East section during the sell-out of China. Immediately there was pressure from the State Department which insisted that making the Pawley testimony public would be "harmful." After the election, this pressure was intensified by President-elect Kennedy's staff. The testimony was finally released only because of the efforts of Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut.

What Mr. Pawley had to say about the witting and unwitting allies of Communism in the State Department has the Liberals in their usual swivet. It has also stirred up former Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, now on the conservative side, who in his official capacity under President Truman supported a program, Mr. Pawley said, "which appeared to be helpful to the Communist Party in Latin America." T'aint so, says Mr. Braden angrily. Those with long memories will recall that Mr. Braden was responsible for bringing into the State Department one Gustavo Duran, erstwhile head of the secret police in the Loyalist government. (Mr. Duran is now running certain UN operations in the Congo.) It had been hoped before publication of the Pawley testimony that Braden would frankly acknowledge his past errors—but perhaps this is too much to expect of human nature.

It is freely conceded here by Liberal Democrats that President Kennedy may have jeopardized his entire program by pressing the fight for a packed House Rules Committee. Not only are many congressmen still bitter over the blackmail tactics employed by Attorney General Bobby Kennedy to support the packing plan: they have also been made aware that an "open" Rules Committee will put them badly on the spot. One of the functions of the Committee, and its chief strength, lay in its ability to bottle up bills introduced for political effect which would prove embarrassing if they came to a vote.

The Kennedy Administration underestimated the shrewdness of Chairman Howard Smith. Humiliated by Speaker Sam Rayburn in a slashing speech from the floor, Mr. Smith bided his time. Now his aides are going through the dusty files of the committee looking for bills which will give Mr. Rayburn and the Administration headaches. If any attempt at suppression is made by the Liberal majority in the committee, Chairman Smith is prepared to take to the floor and throw back at the Liberals the lofty sentiments they expressed during the Rules Committee fight. Liberal and labor lobbyists are working overtime in an effort to effect a reconciliation between Mr. Smith and the crusty old Speaker. Mr. Rayburn is willing—he was sandbagged by the Administration into forcing through the Rules Committee packing—but Chairman Smith demands a *quid pro quo*.

In the works: The Democratic leadership has decided that 1962 is the year to defeat Republican Representative Bruce Alger of Texas. According to reputable sources within the Democratic Party, Speaker Rayburn has told Dallas political leaders that unless they eliminate Mr. Alger, not one cent of Federal money will go to the district. This is a drastic move, but the Democrats are out to show that it doesn't pay to elect Republicans in Texas.

QUINCY

attack. Attack Belgium all over the world, not because Belgium had anything to do with the killing of Lumumba, but because Belgians are working with Moise Tshombe of Katanga, major obstacle to Moscow's plans for the fragmented Congo. In Cairo and Belgrade, attack those perennial whipping boys, the United States and Great Britain. In Tunis and Casablanca, with Algeria in mind, assault French installations; in Sekou Touré's Guinea and in New York City, march on the United Nations, to further Khrushchev's "Operation Dag."

The Communist enterprise is developing these riot squads—tested out two years ago against Richard Nixon in Latin America, and in Seoul, Ankara, Tokyo and San Francisco last year—as a primary weapons system. They can now be brought into operation anywhere, at any time, on any pretext. They would make an interesting topic for the next disarmament negotiation.

BRIEFS: Western diplomats worried over possibility that Sudan may reverse previous decision and permit passage of Egyptian military supply caravans to anti-Western forces in the Congo. Some news reports from Khartoum indicate Sudanese resistance to Egyptian pressure is weakening. . . . **At moment, Gizenga troops in Stanleyville are short on gasoline, other military hardware.** . . . Certain Central African leaders (both Negro and white) discussing practicability of forming new anti-Communist federation made up of secessionist Katanga, the Rhodesias and Portuguese-controlled Angola. The geography makes sense. Rhodesia, Katanga have prosperous economies, a wealth of raw materials to contribute and Angola has port facilities. . . . Private capital has been leaving Kenya at the rate of 1 million pounds a month over last year. . . . **Thirty Soviet jets recently delivered to Morocco presumably will be based on U. S. built airstrips from which we are now withdrawing.**

It's not generally realized, but U.S. bombers are now on continuous air alert. In addition, one-third of SAC planes both in U.S. and abroad are on ground alert, ready to take to the air in 15 minutes maximum. . . . Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization has inaugurated nationwide program to teach high school students how to build fallout shelters (Survival 202?). . . . Labor Department reports percentage of Negro unemployed twice that of whites.

Think Social Security taxes are bad here? In Egypt, the National Assembly considering legislation which will force all working men, married or single, to pay 1% of their salary into a divorce insurance bank, proceeds of which will be used to support discarded wives and children.

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• Trends •

When it comes to political preference among young people today, the line forms on the right. Student conservatism, lively with the zeal of revolution, has become the wave of the future.

The young conservative movement has been quietly nourished, over the past decade, by the limited-circulation journals of the Right. Each year it has gained in strength and recognition, until in recent months it has burst into national prominence, via the *Wall Street Journal* and *Time* magazine.

During most of this incubation period, the job of spreading the gospel among campus conservatives has been performed by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, formed in 1953. ISI's work is probably familiar to most of the readers of *NATIONAL REVIEW*, as is the launching of its political-action counterpart, Young Americans for Freedom. YAF was founded last fall to complement ISI's non-political educational job with a hard-hitting program of practical politics.

Helping achieve direct impact on political issues have been a number of ad hoc committees. One was the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath, which last year marshalled campus feeling in favor of the loyalty provision and disclaimer affidavit of the National Defense Education Act. Another was Youth for Goldwater, which generated a surge of conservative sentiment among young people at last July's Republican Convention. A third, recently formed and just now hitting its stride, is the Student Committee for Congressional Autonomy, which seeks to demonstrate the historic right of Congress to engage in legislative investigations.

SCCA is captained by two brothers, John and James Kolbe, who are students at Northwestern University (headquarters: 610 Lincoln St., Evanston, Ill.). It undertakes to distribute the motion picture, *Operation Abolition*, and to arrange demonstrations in behalf of the House Un-American Activities Committee when it is attacked by self-styled advocates of "civil liberties."

SCCA has displayed a deep understanding of the fundamental issues involved in the HUAC struggle. "The central issue," says John Kolbe, "has now become whether or not Congress will continue to investigate matters free of arbitrary controls with which its opponents seek to shackle it. It is no longer an attack on one or two committees. It is a war declared on both the congressional prerogative to inform itself and the people's right to know."

Further evidence of youthful conservatism may be found in the proceedings of the half-million member Young Republican National Federation. The young GOP has shown its starboard leanings unmistakably in recent conventions, adopting platforms and resolutions well to the right of the senior party.

From these ranks, moreover, has come a whole new crop of Republicans in Congress. No less than 32 GOP repre-

sentatives are under the age of 40—nineteen of them serving their first term. Almost all are principled conservatives, who understand the philosophy of freedom and who are willing to wage legislative battles to defend it. Good examples are John Ashbrook of Ohio (past chairman of the national Young Republicans), Don Bruce of Indiana, Peter Garland of Maine and John Roussellot of California (also a former YR official).

"The new Republicans in Congress, as I have observed them," says representative Bruce, "are conservatives. They believe in the basic principles on which this nation was founded—that that government is best which governs least; that individual freedom, and the prerogatives of the states, must be preserved from the intrusions of the bureaucracy in Washington. For my own part, I am a conservative, and I intend to vote that way."

Such is the scope of the conservative uprising—extending from the classroom to the halls of Congress. It is real, it is growing, and it means to win.

What has sparked so vigorous a rebellion? Many reasons may of course be alleged, but I think one of the most important is the intellectual collapse of Liberalism at the faculty level. Students can hardly help reacting against a know-nothingism which has sunk to depths unknown even during the McCarthy controversy. Focusing simply on the problem of Communism, consider these examples:

In a debate with *NATIONAL REVIEW* editor William F. Buckley Jr., Dr. Karl de Schweinitz of Northwestern University gave birth to the following thoughts: a) "The way to lick subversion is to try to solve this kind of problem and push hard on integration"; b) "I certainly have no interest in . . . freeing the so-called Soviet slaves or Chinese slaves. If this is the kind of system they choose to live under, if this is the kind of system that's been established there, that's their business and not my business."

The film *Operation Abolition*, depicting Communist-led agitation against the House Committee on Un-American Activities, contains a sequence in which the Communists and their sympathizers sing "The Star Spangled Banner" while the Committee is trying to receive testimony. Comments Mr. Joseph Brogunier of the faculty of Purdue: "There were a number of people in the front of the hearing room who, while the national anthem was being sung, neither joined in the singing nor stood up. I would be the last one to ask that they join in the singing against their will; but I do think that respect for the national anthem demands that people stand while it is being sung, regardless of the circumstances surrounding the singing."

Chief coordinator of the campaign against *Operation Abolition* is Burton White, a teaching assistant at the University of California. Says White of his efforts: "Many of us oppose the House Committee with more feeling than information. Since I have become involved in the fight for civil liberties, I have been increasingly appalled at my own lack of information."

Mr. White, I think, has unlocked the secret of the conservative rebellion.

M. STANTON EVANS

• Abroad •

Tel Aviv. The fierce struggle for power that has been shaking Israel has deepened into a crisis for which the nation's institutional structure offers no ready solution. The truth about the mysterious "Lavon affair" of 1954 will probably never be known, but no one doubts that Pinchas Lavon is now making an uncompromisable challenge to David Ben-Gurion. Lavon, as its general secretary, bases his operations on Histadrut, the totalitarian labor federation (membership is compulsory) which is at the same time the major investment and management syndicate, rivaling the state in power potential. However, Lavon is also a member of Mapai, the government party, of which Ben-Gurion, bolstered by his protégés and presumed successors, Shimon Peres and Mosheh Dayan, still holds the leadership. The political logic dictates a radically altered government resting on another political formation. But the other parties of both Right and Left are too small and disunited to offer a viable alternative excluding Mapai, particularly with Histadrut looming over them. The ferocity of the personal struggle is having a disillusioning effect on the younger generation, already reacting against the Soviet-like regime of the rural kibbutz and the jealous power monopoly of the elders.

London. Eight major British corporations from the fields of electronics, engineering, power and entertainment, have joined to launch a British Space Development Company as "a springboard into space." The chairman of this new commercial combine, Sir Robert Renwick, declared: "We who have formed this company believe the money in space is more than any man ever dreamed of. It is colossal. We believe the gentlemen adventurers of space have a much bigger chance of vast wealth than ever did the adventurers of the Hudson's Bay Company or the East India Company. It is the real Eldorado of the future."

Milan. The new *giunta* (junta, coalition) that took over the municipal government at the end of January is believed by many observers to be the "opening to the Left" that will inaugurate a new phase of Italian politics. The junta is a combine of Christian Democrats with Petro Nenni's Communist-allied Socialist party. Parallel juntas may soon be formed in Florence and Genoa; and if so, the trend will probably broaden to a national scale for the 1962 general election. Significantly, the Milan development coincides with a shift in the chairmanship of the powerful Confederation of Industries from Dr. de Micheli, a firm conservative, to Dr. Furio Cicogna, head of the Chatillon textile company, a "moderate." Both changes were apparently triggered by the Kennedy election.

Vientiane, Laos. On several judgments about the past seven years, all observers are agreed: 1) that the \$40 million which the U.S. poured annually into this little jungle country was three times as much as it could responsibly absorb; 2) that the results in inflation, graft

and personal corruption were inevitable; 3) that the concentration of funds on the cities instead of the countryside exaggerated the evils and the economic distortions; 4) that it was folly to build a 25,000 man army, as the State Department ruled, instead of the force half that size recommended by the Pentagon; 5) that the armed force should have been small, flexible units trained for guerrilla operations in jungles instead of the conventional, motorized infantry that was in fact principally developed.



OPanach, Ben Roth

"He says he prefers an autonomous federation rather than a centralized republic."

Durgapur, India. The million-ton steel plant, built by a British combine, is already in partial operation, and will be completed soon, several months ahead of schedule. The Russian-built plant at Bhilai is well along. The German group, headed by Krupp, has had some troubles—partly because of very advanced installations—with its plant at Rourkela, but this will also start preliminary output soon. These three are state enterprises. At Jamshedpur, the Tata syndicate, with the help of American engineers and a World Bank loan, are completing a million ton addition to their long established works. When the four plants get fully on line two or three years from now, India—though its food deficit grows yearly vaster—will have the impressive modern steel industry without which no underdeveloped nation seems to feel at ease.

Paris. According to a UNESCO compilation, Nikita Khrushchev was the world's most translated author in 1960, scoring 198 published translations. Runner-up among the living—though behind Lenin, the Bible, Tolstoy, Jules Verne and Dostoevsky in that order—was the English detective story mistress, Agatha Christie, with 103.

• The Investor •

The laws of economics, as they affect various groups, often seem cruel. The Executive, Congress and even the judiciary often and understandably try to ameliorate their effect on individuals. So do we all.

But adversity is the free enterprise way of correcting its mistakes. The belief that man can legislate or regulate away substantially all distress is unrealistic. A dynamic economy remedies its excesses and other mistakes through certain, often painful, dislocations.

A few years ago, tuna boats on the West Coast of the United States lay idle. Tuna was coming into the U.S. from Japan at lower prices than our fishermen were able to furnish it. A disaster for us? No, a blessing for the consumer who could now afford more tuna. And what did it do to our tuna fishing industry? In time, idle capital tied up in idle boats grew restless. Today our tuna industry has revived; it is more prosperous than ever. How did it manage this?

Japanese boats use cheap labor and fish for tuna with lines several miles long, carrying many side lines with baited hooks. California boats today use lightweight nylon nets and haul in vastly larger catches in a day. Capital investment for a nylon net is heavy, but with it the tuna industry in the U.S. has revived.

Had the tuna industry been subsidized to compete with low-wage Japanese industry, there would have been no incentive to discover lower cost operation methods which benefit us all.

How about the major distress areas into which the Kennedy Administration proposes to pump massive aid? No one wants people to starve and fortunately we have the productivity to eliminate such conditions.

But, to subsidize distress areas through massive federal expenditure tends to prevent economic self-correction. A coal-mining community whose coal has to be priced above the market price, may lose workers to other communities or may discover other industries for which it has unusual capability.

The disappointing year 1960 made outstanding contributions toward improving the standard of living. For decades, railroads have had duplicate tracks, stations and other facilities. They have paid labor for work not performed, and carried passengers at a loss. All these costs have been passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices, stemming from high cost of rail freight transport.

The distress of the railroads in 1960 is bringing progress, as nothing else could, toward mergers which will eliminate waste and toward a cutdown of featherbedding labor practices. The solution will take more than a year, but distress in a free economy fathers needed economic change. Piggybacking would not have been born, except through railroad adversity. And piggybacking is both speeding up deliveries and reducing transport costs.

The Civil Aeronautics Board has for years ridden hard on airlines, and airline managements have remained

in the hands of pioneers who made decisions by seat-of-the-pants methods. A weakened air transport system entering a fabulously expensive jet age could not afford these twin luxuries. CAB has been forced to change its policies and at least two highly individualistic airline presidents have been replaced. Subsidies could have prevented these changes, but to the long range detriment of the consumer.

Union militancy in Akron, Ohio, has bowed to the hard fact of adversity. United Rubber workers, faced with the abandonment of an inefficient plant, agreed to modify contract provisions which were blocking its modernization. Union leaders may view this as an outrage, but for the rank-and-file workers and for the public it is a boon.

Inventories of steel, aluminum and countless manufactured products were high in 1959, due in some measure to threatened strikes, which materialized. We, the consumer, paid the added cost of capital tied up in large inventories. The year 1960 has eliminated fear of shortages and brought important reduction in inventories lowering the price of finished goods. Who benefits? The consumer, and everyone in our economy is a consumer.

The oil industry for years had grown in sales and profits. Continued prosperity, as it does almost inevitably, resulted in lax control over expenditures. And too little research was done to develop new production outlets.

The unhappy oil years of 1959 and 1960 forced a tightening of cost controls and a reassessment of the capital expenditure patterns of the earlier 1950s. It brought about greater emphasis on development of petrochemicals and smaller expenditure for the purpose of adding to already huge oil reserves. Who is the ultimate beneficiary? You and I, of course, and the other 175 million U.S. consumers of oil products.

We investment counsellors are also subjected to agonizing reappraisals by periods of adversity in business, and in the stock market. We learn to recognize which are growth stocks par excellence; which, in contrast, only appeared to be growth stocks. This does not mean that every stock whose earnings have declined sharply should be sold—on the contrary; some of these may be good purchases. Not all growth stocks experience continuous uninterrupted growth.

Were business free of recessions, poor management would take longer to detect and would permit more serious deterioration before it became apparent.

The uninspired performance of Endicott Johnson management over a period of years was spotlighted by a substantial loss in 1960. The management was threatened by an outsider who offered to buy control. The top Johnson executives managed to avoid being displaced this time. They are on notice, however, that unless they improve economic efficiency another and perhaps more successful challenger will come along.

So long as we have a free economy and a dynamic one, we will commit mistakes which require correction involving adversity for many.

NORVIN R. GREENE

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